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A PROTO-IONIC CAPITAL FROM THE SITE OF NEANDREIA.*

II.

Reference has already been made to the fact, that the monuments of the earliest period of architectural development among the Greeks were, with but few exceptions, lost to science through having been replaced by buildings of the more advanced styles. The preservation of so primitive a memorial as this capital is to be accounted for by the position of Mount Chigri, and, especially, by the history of the ancient city which occupied its summit. The identification of the ruins is of direct value in connection with the archæological consideration, as it supplies a *terminus ante quem* for all discoveries made upon the site thus fortunately spared.

Chigri-Dagh is formed by cliffs of granite, rising steeply to a height determined by the surveyors of the English admiralty³⁷ as 1648 ft., and by Virchow³⁸ as 499.9 met. The barometrical readings of the Assos expedition served only to verify these estimates, the difference between which is but about three metres. Chigri is thus the most prominent landmark of the Troad, north of Saqa-Kioh and west of the Skamandros.

The view from the summit is magnificent. Upon the north is the plain of Ilion, divided by the silver line of the Skamandros ; beyond are the Hellespont and the Thrakian Chersonesos. Every curve of the western coast of the Troad can be traced. The imposing ruins of Alexandria Troas, to which town the primitive inhabitants of Chigri were removed by Antigonos, are easily discerned, and opposite to the half-submerged mole of this once populous metropolis, lies Tenedos,

* Continued from vol. II. p. 20, of the JOURNAL.

³⁷ Admiralty map No. 1608. *Entrance to the Dardanelles*, surveyed by Spratt, 1840.

³⁸ R. Virchow, *Beitraege zur Landeskunde der Troas. Aus den Abhandl. d. Kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* 1879. Berlin, 1879.

which, in still more ancient times, had been colonized by Tennes, son of the king of Kolonai and Neandreia (Chigri),—thereby receiving the name by which it is known even to-day. North of Imbros, Samothrake, the mighty seat of Poseidon, rises precipitously from the blue waters of the Aegean, and far beyond the low and hazy hills of Lemnos, the setting sun outlines with wonderful distinctness the conical peak of Athos,^{38a} more than one hundred and seventy-five kilometres distant: thus, the horizon is bordered by the sacred sites of the Kabeirian mysteries and the holy mountain of Eastern Christianity; while prominent in the foreground is the domed mosque of Kemaly. To the east stretch the fertile plains of the Samonion, once a territory of Chigri; beyond are the majestic heights of Ida. On the south, the violet crest of Mount Lepethymnos, in Lesbos, rises above the volcanic ridge which borders the Adramyttian gulf. The scene of the Iliad is spread out before the beholder like a map.

The uneven summit of Chigri is fortified by extensive walls, of an irregular rhomboidal plan. The greatest length of the enclosure, from east to west, may roughly be estimated as one kilometre, while its greatest width is less than one third as much.³⁹ The ramparts are of hewn stones, polygonal and square, dating to various periods anterior to the fourth century B.C. They are skilfully planned to profit by the natural advantages for defence of this rocky height, and, being in an exceptionally good state of preservation throughout their entire length, they are among the finest monuments of Greek military engineering in Asia Minor. The city is approached from the north-

^{38a} This spectacle, little less than marvellous in view of the great distance from shore to shore, has been observed by the writer on many occasions: from Chigri, from the coast between Alexandreia Troas and Lekton, and even from the much more remote summit of Mount Ida. It has been referred to by several authorities. *Clare conspicitur Athos cum coelum est serenum, ex Hellesponto et Asiatico litore, multo autem clarius ex Ida Monte*, says Vossius in the observations (*ad lib. ii. cap. 2*) attached to his edition of Mela, Hagae Comitum, 1658.

We are reminded of the saying of the ancients, repeated by many writers, that the shadow of Athos was cast upon the market-place of Lemnos at noon, or (and this was undoubtedly the original meaning of the fable) by the setting sun at the time of the summer solstice.

³⁹ Newton, whose work will be cited below, judges the summit to be "more than a mile long," from the fact that it took him twenty minutes to walk the distance; but it is evident that this estimate is too great. Calvert's measurement, published by Pullan and repeated, without acknowledgment, by Schliemann, gives 1900 paces as the length, and 520 paces as the breadth of the enclosure.

east by a grand causeway, paved with slabs of stone, and evidently of great antiquity. The chief entrances to the enclosure are at the north-east and at the south, and are particularly important. They are flanked by square towers very similar to those of the main gateway at Assos, their monolithic lintels and jambs showing traces of the bolts and battens. It is not the present purpose, however, to give any adequate account of these fortifications, or of the ruins of the city itself; though it may be remarked that the capital which is the subject of this paper and the fragments of the painted terracottas which undoubtedly belonged to the same building, were found in the north-west corner of the enclosure.

The first explorer who is known to have visited the ruins of Mount Chigri is Pococke,—the earlier travellers in the Troad who penetrated beyond the port of Alexandreia Troas, such as Belon (1554) and Du Loir (1654), not having gone farther inland than the hot springs of Lidja. Pococke⁴⁰ calls the site Chigur, and identifies it with Skepsis, from the similarity of the name of that ancient town to that of the neighboring village of Eskiupjee (Eski Skupchu). De Vaugondy's ancient map of Asia Minor,⁴¹ published fifteen years after Pococke's last volume, gives Cocyllum (Kokylion) in the position of Chigri. Kokylion is one of the towns of the Troad mentioned by Pliny⁴² as deserted in his time, and its identification with Chigri rests solely upon the similarity of the names. Whether this was due to the map-maker alone, or to some traveller previous to 1760, other than Pococke, it is not possible to say. Lechevalier⁴³ subsequently adopted the name Kokylion from the village of Qocholobassy, to the north of Chigri, which mountain he calls Kiril-Dagh. This misleading method of identification was also practised by Choiseul,⁴⁴ whose assumption that Chigri was the site of Kenchreai is still the most generally accepted. Choiseul's authority was in this respect greatly strengthened by the endorsement of Leake⁴⁵ and

⁴⁰ R. Pococke, *A description of the East and some other countries*. London, 1743-45. Part two.

⁴¹ *Asia Minor*. Auctore R. de Vaugondy. Paris? 1760?

⁴² Pliny, v. 32. Compare also Xenophon, *Hell.* III. 1. 16.

⁴³ J. B. Lechevalier, *Voyage de la Troade, fait dans les années 1785 et 1786*. (Third edition) Paris, 1802.

⁴⁴ M. G. A. F. de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*. Paris, 1782-1809, Vol. II.

⁴⁵ W. M. Leake, *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor*. London, 1824.

Webb.⁴⁶ Some account of the interesting geological aspects of Chigri is given by Tchihatcheff;⁴⁷ he makes, however, the error of speaking of the formation as a trachyte. The more modern travellers who have visited the ruins are Newton,⁴⁸ whose excellent description has been referred to; Pullan,⁴⁹ who published Calvert's notes; and, within the last few years, Meyer,⁵⁰ Schliemann,⁵¹ Virchow,⁵² Diller, the geologist of the Assos expedition,⁵³ and Jebb.⁵⁴

Compared with the many visitors to the neighboring towns, this is but a short list. Perhaps the neglect of Chigri may in some measure be attributed to the evil repute of this lonely mountain as the resort of brigands, Commander Spratt having had a narrow escape from one of these bands while visiting the site. Many travellers have passed directly by the foot of the hill on the road from Eziné to the ruins of Alexandria Troas, without making the ascent.

The identification of Chigri as Kenchreai, proposed by Choiseul and favored by Leake, Webb and Virchow, is, as before mentioned,

⁴⁶ P. B. Webb, *Osservazioni intorno allo stato antico e presente dell' agro Trojano*; first published in Acerbi's *Biblioteca Italiana*, Milano, 1821; written by the author for that journal and translated under his supervision.

⁴⁷ P. Chikhachev, *Asie Mineure, description physique, statistique et archéologique de cette contrée. Quatrième partie.* Paris, 1853-69.

⁴⁸ C. T. Newton, *Travels and discoveries in the Levant.* London, 1865.

⁴⁹ R. P. Pullan, in Murray's *Handbook for travellers in Turkey in Asia.* (Fourth edition) London, 1878.

⁵⁰ E. Meyer, *Geschichte von Troas.* Leipzig, 1877.

⁵¹ H. Schliemann, *Ilios: Stadt und Land der Trojaner.* Leipzig, 1881. The slight notes given in the *Reise in der Troas im Mai 1881* (Leipzig, 1881) are reprinted in *Troja*. London, 1884. Schliemann's statement (*Ilios* p. 57), that there is no accumulation of débris on Mount Chigri, is misleading. The native rock does, indeed, crop out in many parts of the fortress, notably at the south-east and north-east corners, where peaks of trachyte rise even above the fortification walls: yet, throughout the greater part of the enclosure, there is a soil of considerable depth, as is evident from the fact that the summit of the mountain serves as the pasture for a great number of horses and cattle at a season when the lower plains have been parched by the summer sun. Schliemann's further assertion, that "only here and there a late Roman potsherd and some fragments of bricks of a late date" were to be seen, is absolutely incorrect. Careful examinations of the site, on several occasions, failed to bring to light any remains more recent than of the fourth century B. C.

⁵² Virchow's barometrical measurement of the height, given in the *Beitraege zur Landeskunde der Troas*, quoted above, is printed also in Schliemann's *Ilios*.

⁵³ J. S. Diller, *The geology of Assos*, in Clarke's *Report on the investigations at Assos*, 1881. Boston, 1882.

⁵⁴ R. C. Jebb, *A tour in the Troad*: in the *Fortnightly Review*, No. cxcvi. London, 1883.

that generally accepted.⁵⁵ This assumption can be definitely disproved. Kenchreai is of interest as one of the cities which claimed to have been the birthplace of Homer (Soudas, s. v. "Ὅμηρος), and as the place where the great poet dwelt while familiarizing himself with the scenes of the Trojan war (Steph. Byzant. s. v. *Κεγχροέαι*). But Kenchreai existed as a citadel at a date long after Chigri must have been deserted. Georgios Pachymeres (*De Mich. Pal.* vi. 24) informs us that the emperor Michael Palaeologos confined the unfortunate Manuel in this fortress. The same writer (*De Andron. Pal.* v. 27) describes in detail the taking of Kenchreai by the Turks,



FIG. 15.—Sketch-map of the ancient Troad.

soon after the beginning of the fourteenth century: he relates that, after having held out for some time, it was compelled to surrender from lack of water, and was burned by the enemy. Nothing is more certain than that this citadel was not situated upon Mount Chigri, where no Byzantine remains whatever are to be met with. The writers who have advocated the identity of Kenchreai and

⁵⁵ Compare: J. A. Cramer, *A geographical and historical description of Asia Minor*. Oxford, 1832; and C. Texier, *Asie Mineure, description géographique, historique, et archéologique des provinces et des villes de la Chersonnèse d'Asie*. Paris, 1862. One of the volumes of *L'Univers*.

Chigri must either have been ignorant of the reference made to that ancient town by Pachymeres, or not well acquainted with the character of the remains upon the site. Kenchreai is undoubtedly to be identified with Kiz-Kalesi,—a citadel upon the north of Chigri, and one of the few sites of the Troad which were fortified in Byzantine times. Not having been occupied by the Turkish conquerors, it still shows traces of the fire by which it was destroyed.

The ancient atlas of Smith, and that of Kiepert, as well as the map in Mueller and Duebner's edition of Strabo, place Kolonai upon the site of Chigri. In like manner Eduard Meyer, one of the best informed of all the travellers in the Troad, speaks of the remains as those of Kolonai. It is not strange that this commanding height should have been identified with the stronghold chosen as a retreat by the Spartan Pausanias while carrying on his treacherous negotiations with the Persians.⁵⁶ Nevertheless it is certain that Kolonai was situated much nearer to the sea than Mount Chigri. Xenophon (*Hell.* III. 1, 13 and 16) twice mentions it as a maritime town, and the testimony of Strabo is even more explicit, for he describes it as lying on the sea (589), and on the coast opposite Tenedos (604). The latter assertion is made also by Diodoros (v. 83. 1) and by Pausanias (x. 14. 2). As will be explained below, the passage of Skyllax in which Kolonai is mentioned must be taken in the same sense. Among those ancient writers whose mention conveys any indication of the situation of the town, there remains only Pliny (v. 32), who says distinctly enough *intus Colone intercedit*, but whose testimony concerning the Troad is of but little value, especially in the case of those cities which, like Kolonai, were deserted more than three centuries before his time. Even the name *Koλώναι* is characteristic of such mounds as those of the tertiary formation found on this coast of the Troad, and would be entirely inexplicable in connection with the granite mountain of Chigri.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ Thouk. i. 131; Diod. xiv. 383; Corn. Nep., *Paus.* 3.

⁵⁷ F. Calvert,—*On the site and remains of Colonaë*, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvii. London, 1860,—believes the narrow summit of Beshik-Tepéh, three miles north of Eski-Stambol (Alexandreia), to be the true site of Kolonai. But the distance of this place from Strabo's Ilion is less than the one hundred and forty stadia designated by the geographer. It appears, moreover, from another passage (Strabo, 604) that Alexandreia was founded between the tract known as the Achaiion and Kolonai, and that we must consequently look for the latter town south of the great metropolis of the Diadochi.

All indications favor the identification of Mount Chigri with the ancient Neandreia. This view, first suggested by Calvert,⁵⁸ is based upon the description given by Strabo. Strabo states that the Neandreians were situated above Hamaxitos,—the position of which town is determined, by the notices of it in other passages, as close to Lekton (604), near Larissa (440) and the Sminthion (605),—on this side (i. e. to the north) of Lekton, but further inland and nearer Ilion, from which they were distant one hundred and thirty stadia.⁵⁹ Strabo states, also, that the territory of Assos and its colony Gargara was bounded by the tracts belonging to Antandros, Kebrene, Neandreia and Hamaxitos (606), towns which are thus seen to lie almost in a semi-circle around the region in question; and further, that the plain of Samonion (now known as that of Bairamitch) belonged to Neandreia (472),—a district that would naturally be under the domination of the stronghold of Mount Chigri. Strabo moreover tells us that the inhabitants of Neandreia, together with those of many other cities of this region, were removed by Antigonos to the newly established town of Alexandria Troas. Pliny, a little later, speaks of the site as deserted (v. 32).

A similar conclusion is to be derived from a mention of Neandreia by Xenophon (*Hell.* III. 1, 13–16). Mania, the satrapess of the province, whose chief seat was in the interior of Kebrene and Skepsis, possessed Neandreia, and extended her dominion by reducing the maritime towns of the south-western Troad, Larissa, Hamaxitos and Kolonai, which had remained in the possession of the sea-faring Greeks. On the arrival of the Spartan Derkyllidas, these three towns surrendered at once, as did, within one or two days, Neandreia, Ilion, and Kokylion, after the fall of which places Kebrene was besieged. Xenophon's enumeration of the towns can leave no doubt as to the route followed by Derkyllidas. The Spartan general must have landed at the ancient port of Lekton, and have moved into the valley of the Skamandros by the natural pass upon the north of Mount Chigri, taking the town of Neandreia upon its summit, which, it is to be observed, is the first named after leaving the sea at Kolonai. At the present day, the main road of the

⁵⁸ F. Calvert, *On the site and remains of Cebrene*, in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. XXII. London, 1865.

⁵⁹ Strabo, 606. Korai's emendation, *μεσογειότεροι δὲ* for *μεσογειότερῃ τε*, is self-evident.

country, by which the wine of Tenedos is carried to Eziné and Bairamitch on the Menderé, follows the same route.

Opposed to this weight of evidence, we have the statement of Skylax (p. 36) that Neandreaia was situated on the sea. As at least those portions of Skylax relating to the coasts of Asia Minor are to be referred to a date anterior to that of the foundation of Alexandria Troas and the depopulation of Neandreaia, it would be natural to give entire credence to this earlier authority, and to assume that Strabo, although evidently quoting from Demetrios of Skepsis, was mistaken in his identification,—were it not that it is plain, from internal evidence, that the passage in question is, as it stands, a misstatement throughout. Skylax, whose *Periplus* was characterized even by Bentley as “one of the most corrupt books in the world,” gives in his description of the Troad two lists, the one of inland towns: Sigeion, Achilleion, Achaiion, Kolonai, Larissa, Hamaxitos and Chrysa,—the other of towns on the sea: Kebrene, Skepsis, Neandreaia and Pityeia. Now all those of the first list are well known to be situated upon the coast, while, of the latter list, both Kebrene and Skepsis were far inland. Pityeia does not belong to the Troad at all. It is thus plain that the classifications of the towns have been interchanged: that those of the first list were originally described as situated on the sea, those of the latter as in the interior.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ The words of Skylax are: Καὶ ἐν τῇ ἡπείρῳ Σίγη καὶ Ἀχιλλεῖον καὶ Κρατῆρε Ἀχαιῶν, Κολῶναι, Λάρισσα, Ἀμαξιτὸς καὶ ἱερὸν Ἀπολλωνος, ἵνα Χρύσης ἱερᾶτο. Ἐντεῦθεν δὲ Αἰολίς χώρα καλεῖται. Αἰολίδες δὲ πόλεις ἐν αὐτῇ εἰσιν ἐπὶ θαλάττῃ αἰδε Κεβρὴν, Σκῆψις, Νεάνδρεια, Πιτύεια.

The difficulty presented by this passage was evident to Mueller, and in a note to his edition of Skylax (*Geographi Graeci minores*, Parisiis, 1855, vol. i.), he inserts between αἰδε and Κεβρὴν the words: Ἄσσοις, Γάργαρα, Ἀντάνδρος· ἐν δὲ μεσογείᾳ αἰδε. This empiric change of the sense is actually adopted in the text of the last critical edition of Skylax, *Anonymi vulgo Seylacis Caryandensis periplus maris interni recensuit B. Fabricius* (H. T. Dietrich) Lipsiae, 1878. It by no means meets the difficulties of the case, the maritime towns still being described as inland. Were it desirable to restore the text, it would be more reasonable to simply interchange the lists, and not attempt to bring in the names of Assos, Gargara and Antandros. The towns on the Gulf of Adramyttion would not have been named before Kebrene and Neandreaia.

It is surprising that so manifest a corruption should have misled writers upon ancient geography, otherwise most trustworthy. Thus, C. Mannert (*Geographie der Griechen und Römer aus ihren Schriften dargestellt*. Leipzig, Nuernberg, Landshut, 1829–31. Third edition) and A. Forbiger (*Handbuch der alten Geographie*. Leipzig, 1842–44) refuse all credence to Strabo, on the strength of this passage of Skylax. The latter author, in his second volume, describes Neandreaia as a maritime town,

Hence, the testimony of Skylax may even be claimed in support of that of Strabo.

A passage of the greatest importance in reference to Neandreia, and one to which attention has not been called by any writer upon the geography of the Troad, is given in Dictys of Krete.⁶¹ From this we learn that the Greeks before Ilion, being harassed by attacks of the inhabitants of the neighboring country, moved their forces against the towns situated nearest to Ilion, first invading the realm of King Kyknos, the chief place of which was Neandreia. The Greeks took this citadel, and were about to destroy it by fire, but were persuaded to spare it by the prayers and tears of the inhabitants, who tendered their submission to the invaders and gave up the two sons and the daughter of King Kyknos, he himself having been slain, some time before, by Achilleus. Advancing, thereafter, beyond Neandreia, the Greeks reduced Kylla, but left Kolonai unharmed, as that town belonged to the Neandreians and was protected by the alliance which had been concluded with them.

The manuscripts of Dictys, differing among themselves, show corruptions of the names: Neandreia appearing as Meandria, Mentore or Metore, Kolonai as Corone. The first of these errors (*Meandri-*

"east of Gargara." Compare his position in Pauly (*Real-Encyclopædie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft*, s. v. *Neandria* vol. v. Stuttgart, 1848), where he understands Skylax to place the town on the Hellespont. This is translated, without acknowledgment, in the notice on Neandreia which, signed by Leonhard Schmitz, appears in Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, London, 1873. Forbiger's erroneous quotation of Skylax in support of the statement that Neandreia was on the Hellespont is thus perpetuated. It may be remarked that Smith not infrequently presents to his readers stolen and garbled versions of Pauly's articles.

⁶¹ Dictys Cretensis, II. 12 and 13. The author twice refers to the realm of King Kyknos as adjoining Ilion.

The interest of the passage in question is not restricted to the geographical indications which it affords; it also furnishes an argument in favor of the belief that, in this much discussed work, there have been preserved, together with later and spurious material, some traditions of great age which are credible in the same sense as are those collected in the Homeric poems. Though the events recorded should be considered as romance rather than as history, the geography could not thus be invented. The author of the original work must have had an intimate acquaintance with the Troad, or at all events must have derived his information from sources of this character now lost to classical science. This may be well illustrated by a comparison of the work of Dictys with that of Dares, whose rapid descriptions of the Homeric heroes contain no mention of geographical details, or do not differ in these particulars from the earlier writings from which the book was compiled.

orum for *Neandriorum*, etc.) was pointed out nearly two centuries ago by the learned Perizonius.⁶² He based his conviction solely upon the accounts of Kyknos given by Malala (p. 124, Oxford ed.) and Kedrenos (p. 221), who, evidently deriving their information from Dictys, assert that King Kyknos lived in Neandreia, near Ilion. It is well known that these Byzantine writers frequently quote the *ipsisima verba* of the Greek Dictys. They were in possession of the original work, which has since disappeared, and their rendering of the geographical names is hence far more worthy of confidence than that of the copies of the Latin version of Dictys, now alone accessible to us. The conjecture of Perizonius thus admits of no doubt, and this correction is adopted in the latest critical texts.

The emendation *Colonen* for *Coronen*, naturally following the Latin orthography of the name as given by Pliny (v. 32) was suggested by Fuchs.⁶³ The three ancient writers who differ from Dictys, Malala, and Kedrenos in the name of the capital of Kyknos, namely Diodoros (v. 83. 1), Strabo (589 and 604) and Pausanias (x. 14. 2), agree in speaking of Kolonai as his dwelling-place. It is surprising that, notwithstanding this weight of argument, the emendation has been refused by Dederich,⁶⁴ and is not even referred to by Meister;⁶⁵ their editions of Dictys, the most recent published, still read *Corone*, while no place of that name exists in the Troad.

The testimony of the author of the Greek original must have been founded upon traditions, oral or written, which show an accurate acquaintance with the country around Ilion. Whether these legends do or do not recount the actual events of a predatory warfare, carried on by the Achaians in the Troad, they must at least have been so framed as to appear credible to the Greeks inhabiting this remarkable country during the historic period. As it is now read, by the aid of the Byzantine plagiarists and in the light of a familiarity with the Trojan landscape, the passage describes occurrences which would naturally have taken place in such a campaign.

⁶² J. Perizonius, *Dissertatio de historia belli Trojani*, etc. (Leyden?), (1701?). This essay was incorporated in the edition of Dictys published by L. Smids, Amsterdam, 1702, and in others since then.

⁶³ J. A. Fuchs, *De varietate fabularum Troicarum quaestiones*. Coloniae ad Rhenum, 1830. This excellent work is but very little known; the copy which has been on the shelves of the British Museum for half a century was found to be uncut.

⁶⁴ Dictys Cretensis, *Belli Trojani libri sex*. Ed. A. Dederich, Bonnae, 1833.

⁶⁵ Dictys Cretensis, *Ephemeridos belli Troiani*. Ed. F. Meister, Lipsiae, 1872.

According to the narrative of Dictys, the Greeks disembarked at the mouth of the Menderé, near the modern Koum Kaleh, and encamped in the plain. On their expedition against the country of King Kyknos they passed up the valley of the river, through the defile of Bali-Dagh, to the stronghold of Mount Chigri. After having come to terms with the inhabitants, the Greeks found but two courses open to them: to advance inland, across the plain of Bairamitch, or to turn to the south-east, towards the coast. By a further inroad they would have incurred the danger of being cut off by the enemy. Undoubtedly influenced by this consideration, the Greeks chose the latter alternative, reaching the sea south of Eski Stambol.

It is thus plain, that the legends of the Trojan cycle relating to King Kyknos originally designated both Kolonai and Neandreia as towns of his kingdom; the former as a seaport, the latter as a mountain fastness. All the episodes in the life of the hero relate to the sea, and it is probable that his residence was Kolonai, as the more trustworthy authorities assure us. The opposite island of Tenedos was colonized and named after Tennes, a son of Kyknos,⁶⁶ and the most prominent part taken by the king in the Trojan war was an attempt to prevent the Greeks from landing.⁶⁷ The citadel of Neandreia, on the other hand, must have been a stronghold and retreat; this is sufficiently indicated by the tradition given by Dictys (II. 13), that it was the abode (*nutrix*) of the children of the king. The legend which asserts Kyknos to have been the son of Poseidon and Skamandrodi⁶⁸ must doubtless be taken as significant of the sea and the river which formed the boundaries of his realm.

It is worthy of note, in this connection, that both Xenophon (*Hell.* III. 1. 16) and Strabo (472 and 606) speak of the Neandreians as a people; the latter, as has been seen, describing not the position of the town, but that of the tract which bore its name. This is explained by the fact that Neandreia, like Assos, was, at a very early period, the capital of a small independent kingdom, which continued in the memories of the inhabitants long after the entire Troad had been included in a much wider dominion.

⁶⁶ Steph. Byzant. s. v. *Τένεδος*; Suidas, s. v. *Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος*; Cicero, in *Verrem*, act. II. 1. 19; Konon, *Narrat.* xxviii; Plutarch, *Quaest. Graec.* 297; Servius, *Commentary to Virgil, Aen.* II. 21; and the other authors quoted in this connection.

⁶⁷ Aristotle, *Rhet.* II. 22. 12.

⁶⁸ Scholiast to Homer, *Il.* A. 38; Scholiast to Pindar, *Ol.* II. 147; Tzetzes, *ad Licoph.* 233; and Eudocia, *Viol.* p. 264; for a different account, see Hyginus, *Fab.* 157.

No further information is to be derived from the references to Neandreia made by Theopompos (Fr. 310) and Charax (Fr. 4), preserved in Stephanos of Byzantion.⁶⁹ The town was naturally included in the province of the Hellespont, and was so described. These writers are, however, to be quoted as completing the list of ancient authors who make any mention of this place.

The indications obtainable from the coins of Neandreia lend further weight to the conclusions derived from classic literature. The head of Apollon, who was evidently the chief deity of the town,⁷⁰ generally appears upon the obverse, while the symbols of the reverse suggest the advantages derived by the inhabitants of the citadel from the pastures and cultivated fields of the great Samonian Plain. A grazing horse and an ear of wheat formed the most common types,⁷¹ and a ram occurs upon a fine coin of the fifth century, now in the British Museum.⁷² It is a point particularly worthy of remark, that a coin published by Sestini⁷³ was re-struck with an incuse stamp ΑΛΕΞΑΝ, without doubt to facilitate the circulation of the old mintage in the city to which the inhabitants had removed. It is evident, that the Neandrians formed an influential part of the population of Alexandria Troas, from the fact that the coins of the latter town, during the first three centuries of its existence, display the two types characteristic of the Neandreian mintage: the head of Apollon⁷⁴ and the grazing horse.

⁶⁹ Steph. Byzant. s. v. Νεάνδρεια. Compare also the mention s. v. Φαρία.

⁷⁰ It must have been with reference to this cult, and to that of the neighboring Chrysa, that Strabo (p. 618) declared Apollon to be the chief deity of the southwestern Troad. Tenedos also worshipped Apollon, following in this respect its parent city, even as early as the time of the Homeric poems (*Iliad*, i. 38, 451, etc.), in the same manner as did Alexandria Troas in the age of the Diadochi. The especial protection granted by Apollon to the Trojans and their allies, and the prevalence of his worship among them, are striking features of the *Iliad*.

⁷¹ Coins of Neandreia were found at Assos. The writer can quote, in reference to this subject, no publication more recent than that of Borrell, entitled *Unedited Greek Coins*, in *The Numismatic Chronicle*, vol. v. 1. London, 1843. Compare also T. E. Mionnet, *Description des Médailles Antiques*, vol. v. Paris, 1830.

⁷² A coin of this kind is engraved in the work of Sestini which is quoted in the following note, pl. add. III. The head on the obverse, horned and bearded, is erroneously held by the author to be that of Pan.

⁷³ D. Sestini, *Descrizione delle medaglie Greche. Parte seconda*. Firenze, 1829.

⁷⁴ On the worship of Apollon in Alexandria Troas see, also, the inscription from that place, published as No. 3577 of the *Corpus Inscr. Graec.*; together with Boeckh's remarks thereon.

Concerning the political history of the place, it is not here necessary to enter into detail. Its chief interest⁷⁵ attaches to the appearance of Neandreia among the towns tributary to Athens, in the well-known inscription, dating to the third quarter of the fifth century, which has been published by Rhangabé.⁷⁶ The amount of the contribution, mentioned with each occurrence of the name, permits an interesting comparison with that paid by the neighboring towns of Assos, Sigeion, Kebrene, Gargara and Lamponia. The efforts of this confederation were not successful, but the second subjugation of the Troad by the Persians was soon followed by the Asiatic conquests of the Greeks, and by the consequent removal of the population of Neandreia to increase that of the thriving port of Alexandria Troas.

Thus this remote fortress, deserted by the generation succeeding Alexander the Great, has remained an undisturbed ruin for twenty-two centuries. Romans, Goths, Armenians and Franks claimed the site as their own, the Byzantine Greeks were finally driven altogether from the land by the Seljukian and Ottoman Turks, and the first heed paid to the overthrown monuments of the ancient town should be credited to the Archæological Institute of a continent not dreamed of by Kalchas or Kassandra.

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⁷⁵ Brugsch, in his *Troy and Egypt* (appendix ix to Schliemann's *Ilios*, quoted above) suggests that the Trojan Kolonai is to be identified with the Kerena or Kelenia mentioned in an inscription engraved upon the walls of a pylon of the temple of Medinet Abou, which gives a list of thirty-nine towns of the Asiatic coast and the neighboring islands whose contingents were defeated by Rameses III in the 13th century B. C. This theory is rendered particularly attractive by the fact, now placed almost beyond question, that both the Dardanians and the Assians fought against Rameses II only a century before, and are named in the famous poem of Pentaur. Nevertheless, a careful consideration of the context,—especially of the names of those places which are recognizable with some degree of probability,—leads the writer to believe that the town in question must have been situated at least as far south as Kypros. The statement made by Brugsch in his *Geschichte Aegyptens unter den Pharaonen* (vol. II. Leipzig, 1878), that the Kerena of the Egyptians was Kerynia, appears much more reasonable.

⁷⁶ A. Rhizos Rhankabes, *Antiquités Helléniques*. Athènes, 1842–55. Vol. I. No. 236, etc.; most recently in the *Corpus Inscr. Attic.* Vol. I. No. 226.